

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4429

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E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: CSCE: ASSESSEMENT OF POSSIBILITY OF HOLDING STAGE
III IN JULY

REF: (A) GENEVA 4275; (B) STATE 136861

1. OUR REPLIES TO QUESTIONS RAISED IN STATE 136861 ARE SET OUT BELOW. WE WOULD EMPHASIZE THAT THEY ARE GUESSES AT BEST, AND THAT CSCE IS SUBJECT TO MANY FACTORS WHICH ARE DIFFICULT TO FORESEE. CURRENT UNKNOWNNS INCLUDE DEGREE TO WHICH ROMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA, MALTA AND TURKEY WILL PURSUE THEIR SPECIAL INTERESTS, AS OUTLINED IN GENEVA 4275:

(A) WE BELIEVE ALLIES COULD LEGITIMATELY TAKE A DECISION ON TIMING OF STAGE III WHEN MAJOR POSITIVE WESTERN OBJECTIVES IN CSCE HAVE BEEN RESOLVED IN A SATISFACTORY WAY. WITH BASKET III NOW CONCLUDED AS AN EAST-WEST ISSUE, ONLY MAJOR POSITIVE WESTERN OBJECTIVE WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN RESOLVED IS CBMS. THUS, ONCE SATISFACTORY PARAMETERS FOR MANEUVER CBM CAN BE SET, WE BELIEVE ALLIES COULD ACCEPT A DATE FOR STAGE III WITHOUT PLACING OURSELVES AT AN OVERALL TACTICAL DISADVANTAGE. IT WOULD OF COURSE ALSO BE HIGHLY DESIRABLE TO HAVE A SATISFACTORY QRR SAVING CLAUSE AGREED BEFORE A DECISION ON TIMING, BUT THE NEUTRALS THEMSELVES HAVE OFFERED A BASICALLY SATISFACTORY QRR CLAUSE WHICH WE COULD FALL BACK TO, AND THE SOVIETS WILL PRESUMABLY ACCEPT A FALLBACK POSITION TO SMOOTH THE WAY TO STAGE

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III. FOLLOW-UP IS STILL A MAJOR UNRESOLVED PROBLEM,

BUT THIS WILL DEFINITELY NOT BE SOLVED BY JUNE 20, AND WE DO NOT THINK THIS IS NECESSARY SINCE THE WEST IS NOT THE DEMANDEUR ON THIS SUBJECT. ONCE DECISION ON TIMING IS TAKEN, PRESSURES TO REACH COMPROMISES WILL BE EQUAL ON ALL SIDES, AND WILL WORK AGAINST THOSE WHO STILL HAVE POSITIVE OBJECTIVES THEY WISH TO OBTAIN, BUT THOSE COUNTRIES WHO ARE IN A DEFENSIVE ROLE WILL HAVE A DISTINCT ADVANTAGE. WE BELIEVE THAT ONCE CBM PARAMETERS AND QRR LANGUAGE ARE SET THE WEST WILL BE IN A DEFENSIVE POSITION ON ALMOST ALL REMAINING SUBJECTS. IN SUM, THE ALLIES NEED ONLY INSIST THAT CBM PARAMETERS BE FIXED BEFORE GIVING A GREEN LIGHT ON STAGE III TIMING, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD BE HIGHLY DESIRABLE TO PIN DOWN QRR SAVING CLAUSE AS WELL.

(B) WE BELIEVE SOVIETS WILL COME THROUGH WITH ACCEPTABLE PARAMETERS FOR A MANEUVER CBM BEFORE JUNE 20, PROVIDED THEY ARE GIVEN A CLEAR AND CONSISTENT MESSAGE THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO AGREE TO THE NEUTRAL PACKAGE (300 KM/ 25,000 TROOPS/21 DAYS) IF THEY WANT A JULY SUMMIT. THE FRENCH ARE MOVING SLOWLY ON QRR SAVING CLAUSE, HOWEVER, PROBABLY BECAUSE OF SAUVAGNARGUES' PERSONAL INTEREST. FOLLOWING ESTABLISHMENT OF STAGE III DATE TIME PRESSURES SHOULD FORCE MOST DELEGATIONS TO BE FLEXIBLE, ALTHOUGH THOSE SMALLER DELS WITH PARTICULAR HANGUPS (E.G. ROMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA, MALTA AND TURKEY) MAY NOT YIELD UNDER THIS PRESSURE AND WILL PROBABLY TRY TO USE IT TO THEIR ADVANTAGE. (THIS WOULD BE THE CASE, HOWEVER, WHATEVER THE TIMING OF STAGE III.)

(C) AN OVERALL "GLOBAL APPROACH" WOULD BE MOST DIFFICULT TO MANAGE UNTIL THE NUMBER OF ISSUES THROUGHOUT CSCE IS REDUCED TO A HANDFUL. HOWEVER, INTERESTED DELS ARE CURRENTLY LOOKING FOR EVERY OPPORTUNITY FOR PUTTING TOGETHER SMALLER PACKAGES IN INDIVIDUAL SUBJECT AREAS. THIS HAS BEEN DONE THIS WEEK IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND IN CULTURE, AND NEUTRALS ARE CONSIDERING FORMAL PROPOSAL OF A PACKAGE ON MANEUVER PARAMETERS. WE WOULD EXPECT THE SAME APPROACH ELSEWHERE IN THE DAYS AHEAD.

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2. OTHER ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN REACHING DECISION ON TIMING IS NEED FOR CONSULTATION AMONG BOTH EC-9 AND NATO GROUPS. LOOKING AT THE CALENDAR WITH THIS IN MIND WE WOULD FORESEE THE FOLLOWING HYPOTHETICAL SCENARIO:

-- JUNE 12 - NATO CAUCUS IN GENEVA AGREES TO DISCUSS TIMING AT CAUCUS EARLY NEXT WEEK. (IN FACT WE HAVE

ALREADY SUGGESTED SUCH A DISCUSSION NEXT WEEK AND HAVE ASKED DELEGATIONS TO SEEK INSTRUCTIONS IN PREPARATION FOR IT.)

-- JUNE 13 - DEPARTMENT TAKES APPROPRIATE STEPS (THROUGH EMBASSY DUBLIN OR EC EMBASSIES IN WASHINGTON) TO ENSURE THAT EC-9 POLITICAL DIRECTORS FOCUS ON QUESTION OF TIMING AT THEIR JUNE 16 MEETING, AND THAT THEY CONSULT WITH US ON THE RESULTS OF THEIR DISCUSSION.

-- JUNE 16 - EC-9 POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEET AND PROBABLY DISCUSS TIMING (WE ARE TOLD THAT SEVERAL EC DELS HERE ARE TRYING TO INCLUDE IN THEIR JOINT REPORT TO POLITICAL DIRECTORS A RECOMMENDATION THAT JULY BE ESTABLISHED AS TARGET MONTH FOR STAGE III).

-- JUNE 17 - NATO CAUCUS IN GENEVA DISCUSSES TIMING, WITH POSSIBILITY THAT EC-9 WILL REPORT TENOR OF POLITICAL DIRECTORS' DISCUSSION. WE WOULD HOPE TO HAVE DEPARTMENT'S AUTHORIZATION TO TAKE POSITION ALONG LINES OF PARA 1(A) ABOVE AT THAT TIME. A FURTHER STOCK-TAKING COULD BE SET FOR ABOUT JUNE 19.

-- JUNE 19 - NATO CAUCUS IN GENEVA HOLDS SECOND DISCUSSION OF TIMING. PROVIDED CBM PARAMETERS HAVE BEEN SETTLED BY THAT TIME, WE BELIEVE MAJORITY WILL THEN FAVOR ESTABLISHING JULY AS TARGET MONTH. IF WORD OF SUCH A TENDENCY LEAKS TO THE FINNS, THEY SHOULD BE WILLING TO HOLD ON FOR A FEW DAYS FOR A FORMAL DECISION.

-- JUNE 24 - EC-9 FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET IN DUBLIN, AND COULD FINALIZE AN EC-9 DECISION ON TIMING, WHICH COULD BE COMMUNICATION IMMEDIATELY TO THE FINNS.
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-- JUNE 26 - FORMAL DECISION ON TIMING COULD BE TAKEN IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

3. IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE WE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT DEPARTMENT TAKE THREE ACTIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE:

(A) CONVEY TO SOVIETS THE CLEAR MESSAGE THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO AGREE TO NEUTRAL PACKAGE ON CBM PARAMETERS (300 KM/25,000 TROOPS/21 DAYS) WITHIN ONE OR TWO DAYS IF THEY STILL HOPE FOR A STAGE III IN JULY.

(B) CONVEY TO EC-9 PRIOR TO MEETING OF POLITICAL DIRECTORS ON JUNE 16 OUR INTEREST IN EARLY CONSULTATIONS IN GENEVA ON TIMING FOR STAGE III.

(C) PROVIDE US WITH INSTRUCTIONS FOR NATO CAUCUS DISCUSSION
OF STAGE III TIMING ON JUNE 17. DALE

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